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FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652:N/A
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJECT: IPU CONFERENCE ON CSCE

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION'S (IPU)
EUROPEAN MEMBERSHIP CONCLUDED WEEK-LONG CONFERENCE ON
EUROPEAN COOPERATION AND SECURITY (CSCE) MAY 9 WITH
ADOPTION OF A SET OF RESOLUTIONS CONSIDERABLY MORE DETAILED
AND SUBSTANTIVE THAN INTERGOVERNMENTAL BELGRADE MEETING
WHICH ENDED IN MARCH WAS ABLE TO ACHIEVE (TEXT SEPTTEL).
IPU DOCUMENT, FOR EXAMPLE, INCLUDES PARAGRAPH CALLING ON
PARLIAMENTS AND GOVERNMENTS "TO TAKE ALL MEASURES TO ENSURE
RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS BY ALL
STATES, WHICH CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE BASES FOR A PROFOUND
IMPROVEMENT OF THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS" AND BASKET THREE
SECTION CALLING FOR IMPROVEMENT IN HANDLING FAMILY
REUNIFICATION AND OTHER HUMAN CONTACT CASES. THERE ARE
ELEMENTS OF DOCUMENT WHICH ARE LESS CONGENIAL TO WEST,
INCLUDING SLIGHTLY OUT OF BALANCE DOSES OF DISARMAMENT
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AND MEDITERRANEAN LANGUAGE AND ENDORSEMENT OF ECE EXPERTS
MEETINGS ON ENERGY AND TRANSPORTATION AS WELL AS OF A
HIGH-LEVEL ENVIRONMENT CONFERENCE. ALSO, IPU MEETING WITH
ITS INFORMALITY AND NON-BINDING NATURE CLEARLY DOES NOT
APPROACH BELGRADE MEETING IN IMPORTANCE AS BAROMETER OF
EAST-WEST RELATIONS. A NUMBER OF WESTERN OBSERVERS,
INCLUDING FOREIGN OFFICE PROFESSIONALS FAMILIAR WITH

BELGRADE EXPERIENCE, ARE INFORMALLY EXPRESSING MILD OPTIMISM, HOWEVER, THAT RELATIVELY RELAXED EASTERN BEHAVIOR AT IPU MEETING AMOUNTS TO A SIGN THAT SOVIETS ARE INTERESTED IN POLISHING THEIR POST-BELGRADE CSCE IMAGE AND IN MAINTAINING VIABILITY OF CSCE PROCESS. END SUMMARY.

2. PARALLELS TO BELGRADE WERE NUMEROUS. EXCEPT FOR A FEW OF SMALLEST CSCE STATES (INCLUDING MALTA) PARTICIPANTS WERE SAME. IPU'S EUROPEAN SECTION HAD CALLED MEETING TO REVIEW IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT "PARTICULARLY IN THE LIGHT OF THE DECISIONS OF THE BELGRADE MEETING." ALTHOUGH LIMITED IN DURATION TO SINGLE WEEK (MAY 3-9), VIENNA MEETING CONTAINED ALMOST FULL CSCE PANOPLY OF PLENARY DEBATE AND COMMITTEES FOR EACH OF THREE MAIN BASKETS AND FOR FOLLOW-UP. (MEDITERRANEAN SECTIONS OF DOCUMENT WERE DRAFTED IN BASKETS ONE AND TWO. MEETING AGREED TO SET ASIDE IPU VOTING RULES AND USE CSCE CONSENSUS REQUIREMENT. THERE WERE ALSO A NUMBER OF FAMILIAR FACES IN RANKS OF ADVISERS. FRG, UK, SOVIET, BELGIAN AND YUGOSLAV DELS WERE AMONG THOSE THAT INCLUDED CSCE EXPERTS EITHER FROM FOREIGN OFFICES OR BELGRADE DELS. FINALLY, MANY OF PROPOSALS PUT BEFORE MEETING WERE TAKEN ALMOST WITHOUT CHANGE FROM BELGRADE PROPOSALS.

3. IPU MEETING, HOWEVER, WAS FAR MORE INFORMAL AND FREE-FLOWING THAN BELGRADE. EASTERN DELS GAVE EVERY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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APPEARANCE, AS EXPECTED, OF BEING THOROUGHLY BRIEFED BY GOVERNMENTS. WESTERN DELS, ON OTHER HAND, WHILE ADVISED IN MANY INSTANCES BY GOVERNMENT EXPERTS, DISPLAYED VARYING DEGREES OF FAMILIARITY WITH CSCE NUANCES AND SUPPORT FOR THEIR GOVERNMENTS' POSITIONS. THERE WAS LITTLE WESTERN COORDINATION. IN PLACE OF STRUCTURED EC-9, NATO AND NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED CAUCUSES THAT WERE BELGRADE FEATURE, ONLY COORDINATING MECHANISM WAS CAUCUS INCLUDING ALL BUT EASTERN DELS WHICH MET SEVERAL TIMES IN FIRST THREE DAYS BUT NOT AT ALL DURING PERIOD WHEN MOST DRAFTING WAS BEING DONE. DRAFTING GROUPS WHICH EACH COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED TO DO BULK OF WORK CONTAINED ONLY A FEW WESTERN OR NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED REPS WITH VARYING DEGREES OF SPECIAL KNOWLEDGE. MORE THAN ONE POINT THAT WOULD HAVE CAUSED CONSIDERABLE DEBATE IN BELGRADE SLIPPED THROUGH THIS RATHER CATCH-AS-CATCH CAN ARRANGEMENT, AND IN NUMBER OF INSTANCES AN ITEM WAS INCLUDED IN DOCUMENT BECAUSE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST OF AN INDIVIDUAL PARLIAMENTARIAN. FOR EXAMPLE, BASKET TWO SECTION HIGHLIGHTS AS MAJOR SUBJECT FOR AN ENVIRONMENT CONFERENCE "TO ENSURE BETTER PROTECTION OF EUROPEAN COASTLINES AGAINST OIL POLLUTION," AN ITEM OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO FRENCH SENATOR WHO WAS ONE OF

WESTERN SPOKESMEN ON DRAFTING COMMITTEE. U.S. DEL
(CONGRESSMEN SKUBITZ AND CLAWSON) ARRIVED TOO LATE TO
PARTICIPATE IN OPENING PLENARY DEBATE BUT TOOK ACTIVE PART
IN THREE MAIN DRAFTING COMMITTEES AND GAVE CLOSING PLENARY
STATEMENT.

4. AUSTRIAN HOSTS HAD DONE ALL THEIR HOMEWORK. THEY
PREPARED A DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT DRAWN LARGELY FROM
NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED FEBRUARY 1 BELGRADE INITIATIVE, MINUS
SOME OF MORE CONTROVERSIAL IMPLEMENTATION ASSESSMENT
LANGUAGE OF FORMAL BM/65 BELGRADE PROPOSAL. ALL THREE
COMMITTEES AGREED TO USE AUSTRIAN DRAFT AS BASIS FOR THEIR
WORK. MOST OTHER FORMAL PROPOSALS INTRODUCED IN FIRST

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TWO DAYS OF CONFERENCE WERE FROM EAST. SOVIETS, FOR
EXAMPLE, HAD DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON ALL THREE BASKETS WHICH,
WHEN COMBINED WITH THOSE FROM OTHER WARSAW PACT DELS,
VIRTUALLY REPEATED FULL PANOPLY OF EASTERN BELGRADE
PROPOSALS. (TOUGHNESS OF THESE PROPOSALS GAVE AN INITIAL
SIGN THAT SOVIETS MIGHT BE PREPARED FOR ROUGH SESSION.)
AUSTRIANS ALSO ENSURED THAT THEY HAD FIRST-RATE
PARLIAMENTARIANS IN EACH COMMITTEE WHO ON NUMBER OF
OCCASIONS TOOK LEADING ROLE IN NEGOTIATING WESTERN POSITION

5. PLENARY: INITIAL TWO DAYS OF PLENARY DEBATE WERE
UNSTRUCTURED. UNLIKE BELGRADE WHERE SOME EFFORT WAS MADE
IN FIRST TWO WEEKS TO COVER ALL MAIN AREAS OF FINAL ACT,
SPEAKERS DEALT WITH SUBJECTS THAT MOST INTERESTED THEM.

SOVIETS, WHOSE DELEGATION HEAD WAS CHITIKOV OF SUPREME SOVIET, NOT UNEXPECTEDLY EMPHASIZED DISARMAMENT AND MILITARY DETENTE AS PRIMARY AIM OF CONFERENCE. THEY STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF CURBING NEUTRON BOMB AND SAID BELGRADE MEETING COULD HAVE BEEN MORE SUCCESSFUL "IF CERTAIN DELEGATIONS HAD NOT ATTEMPTED TO TURN THE CONFERENCE INTO A KIND OF IDEOLOGICAL CONTEST INVOLVING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ABSTRACT AND LARGELY IRRELEVANT ISSUES." NUMBER OF WESTERN SPEAKERS, INCLUDING THOSE FROM BELGIUM, UK, FRG CANADA AND FRANCE, STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT DEBATE WAS KEPT ALMOST ENTIRELY ON GENERAL PLANE. ONLY DIRECT CRITICISM OF SOVIETS CAME IN CONTRIBUTION OF ISRAELI OBSERVER WHO DESCRIBED PLIGHT OF SOVIET JEWS AND DREW IMMEDIATE SHARP REBUTTAL FROM SOVIET REP. DUTCH AND FRG REPS REBUTTED SOME OF SOVIET NEUTRON BOMB REMARKS.

6. BASKET ONE: KEY ISSUE WAS INTERPLAY BETWEEN HUMAN RIGHTS AND MILITARY SECURITY ISSUES. AUSTRIAN DRAFT CONTAINED ONLY SINGLE REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS, IN A LISTING OF TEN PRINCIPLES FROM FINAL ACT, INCLUDING PRINCIPLE OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, AND A GOOD DEAL OF CBM IMPROVEMENT LANGUAGE DRAWN FROM NEUTRON/NON-ALIGNED BELGRADE PROPOSALS. SOVIETS HAD NOTHING ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN THEIR BASKET ONE DRAFT BUT A GOOD DEAL OF LANGUAGE ALONG LINES OF "THE OVERRIDING NEED TO INTENSIFY EFFORTS AIMED AT LESSENING MILITARY CONFRONTATION AND PROMOTING DISARMAMENT WHICH ARE DESIGNED TO COMPLEMENT POLITICAL DETENTE AND TO STRENGTHEN SECURITY." ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS ALSO PUSHED HARD FOR EMPHASIS ON MILITARY ASPECTS, INCLUDING BOTH CBMS AND GENERAL DISARMAMENT.

7. SOVIETS INITIALLY TOOK TOUGH LINE, ATTEMPTING TO CONVINCE WESTERN PARLIAMENTARIANS THAT "SECURITY COMMITTEE" HAD TO CONCENTRATE ON MILITARY MATTERS AND THAT HUMAN RIGHTS COULD ONLY BE RAISED IN BASKET THREE COMMITTEE IN CONNECTION WITH PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF HUMAN CONTACTS. WHEN BELGIAN AND FRENCH REPS SAID THAT THEY COULD ACCEPT NO LANGUAGE ON MILITARY MATTERS AT ALL UNLESS THERE WAS ACCEPTABLE HUMAN RIGHTS LANGUAGE, HOWEVER, SOVIETS BACKED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DOWN AND NEGOTIATED.

8. BIGGEST WESTERN GAIN WAS ACCEPTANCE BY SOVIETS OF PARAGRAPH, BASED ON BRESHNEV-GISCARD COMMUNIQUE FROM SUMMER 1977, CALLING ON GOVERNMENTS TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS "WHICH CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE BASES FOR A PROFOUND IMPROVEMENT OF THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS" FOR SYMBOLIC PURPOSES SOVIETS INSISTED THIS PARAGRAPH FOLLOW MILITARY PART OF BASKET ONE RESOLUTION INSTEAD OF COMING IN NORMAL PLACE IN SECTION DEALING WITH PRINCIPLES. BASKET ONE PREAMBLE ALSO HAS HAZY LANGUAGE ON IMPORTANCE OF "ASPIRATIONS OF THE PERSONS CONSTITUTING THE PEOPLE WHOM THEY REPRESENT" WHICH IS RESIDUE OF BELGIAN-DUTCH PROPOSAL TO EMPHASIZE "HUMAN ASPECT" OF FINAL ACT. SOVIETS ACCEPTED SAME ENUMERATION OF TEN PRINCIPLES, WHICH THEY HAD REJECTED IN BELGRADE. AFTER EFFORT TO INSIST THAT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ONLY APPLIED TO INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS, SOVIETS ALSO ACCEPTED LANGUAGE DESCRIBING IT AS "A VALUABLE CODE OF CONDUCT" WITH IMPLICATION THAT AT LEAST SEVENTH PRINCIPLE IS MEANT TO GUIDE SOME DOMESTIC ACTS.

9. SOVIETS INITIALLY SAID THEY COULD ACCEPT NOTHING ON CBMS EXCEPT A REFERENCE TO IMPLEMENTATION OF THOSE ALREADY IN FINAL ACT SINCE SUBJECT WAS ONE OF GREAT SENSITIVITY AND REQUIRED SPECIAL EXPERTISE. RESOLUTION FINALLY ADOPTED, HOWEVER, CALLS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF MANEUVER NOTIFICATIONS (I.E., MORE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS BELOW 25,000 TROOP THRESHOLD) AND TREATMENT OF OBSERVERS. SOVIETS WOULD GO NO FURTHER ON NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS AND OTHER PROPOSED CBMS THAN TO PROMISE FURTHER STUDY.

10. THERE IS A BIT MORE LANGUAGE ON DISARMAMENT THAN MOST WESTERN REPS PREFERRED, AND IT TENDS TO BE OVERLY DRAMATIC

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IN TONE. THERE IS, FOR EXAMPLE, IN GENERAL PREAMBLE A PARAGRAPH "EMPHASIZING" IMPORTANCE OF DISARMAMENT "AND, IN THE FIRST PLACE, NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. PREAMBLE TO BASKET ONE RESOLUTION EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN "AT THE PARTICULARLY SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACE, SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE AND THE WHOLE WORLD" OF ARMS RACE AND CONCENTRATION OF TROOPS AND NUCLEAR ARMS IN EUROPE, AND OPERATIVE PART OF RESOLUTION HAS SEVERAL OTHER REFERENCES TO NEED FOR "IMMEDIATE STEPS" AND "URGENT MEASURES." PUT TOGETHER THIS PACKAGE DOES GO SOME WAY TOWARD CREATING APPEARANCE OF SHIFT IN BALANCE OF CSCE MILITARY SECURITY MANDATE FROM CBMS TO GENERAL DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS AND LENDING WEIGHT TO SOVIET CONTENTION THAT MILITARY SECURITY ISSUES SHOULD HAVE INCREASING IMPORTANCE AT CSCE MEETINGS. SOVIETS GOT NO SUPPORT EXCEPT FROM ROMANIANS, HOWEVER, FOR THEIR EFFORT TO URGE THEIR OLD BELGRADE IDEA OF SPECIAL MILITARY SECURITY CONSULTATIONS OF CSCE STATES (FRENCH PROPOSAL BASED ON GISCARD'S INITIATIVE FOR EUROPEAN DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE ALSO WAS NOT ACCEPTED). WESTERN DELS ALSO CONVERTED SOVIET PROPOSAL SINGLING OUT PARTICULAR HORRORS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, INCLUDING SPECIFICALLY NEUTRON BOMB,

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INTO GENERAL PASSAGE URGING PARLIAMENTS AND GOVERNMENTS TO SEEK MEASURES TO PREVENT "PRODUCTION OR DEPLOYMENT IN EUROPE OF ALL MEANS, OLD OR NEW, OF MASS DESTRUCTION."

11. BASKET TWO: THIS COMMITTEE WORKED SWIFTLY AND ALMOST UNCONTENTIOUSLY ON AUSTRIAN DRAFT. TEXT INCLUDES ELEMENTS OF WESTERN BELGRADE PROPOSALS INCLUDING CALL FOR WIDER PARTICIPATION IN EAST-WEST TRADE OF SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZED FIRMS AND BETTER PROVISION OF INFORMATION AND FACILITIES FOR FOREIGN PERSONNEL INVOLVED IN INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION PROJECTS. INSTEAD OF CALL FOR ALL PARTICIPATING STATES TO ACCORD EACH OTHER MFN AS EAST DESIRED, THERE IS GENERAL LANGUAGE URGING ACCELERATION OF "PROCESS OF REDUCTION OR PROGRESSIVE ELIMINATION OF ALL KINDS OF OBSTACLES TO TRADE." WITH AUSTRIANS PUSHING FOR WAY TO OFFER SOVIETS SOMETHING, HOWEVER, RESOLUTION ALSO GOES BEYOND WESTERN GOVERNMENTAL POSITIONS ON BREZHNEV PROPOSALS FOR ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY AND TRANSPORT CONFERENCES. IT INVITES PARLIAMENTS AND GOVERNMENTS TO "SUPPORT" HOLDING HIGH LEVEL CONFERENCES WITHIN ECE ON ENVIRONMENT, AS WELL AS ECE EXPERTS MEETINGS ON EUROPEAN ENERGY BALANCE AND ON

EUROPEAN INLAND WATERWAY CONCEPT.

12. MEDITERRANEAN: DESPITE OR PERHAPS BECAUSE MALTESE WERE NOT PRESENT WITH THEIR PROGRAMS FOR MAXIMUM CSCE INVOLVEMENT IN MEDITERRANEAN POLITICAL AND SECURITY PROBLEMS, BROAD SPECTRUM OF MEDITERRANEAN COASTAL STATES, INCLUDING FRANCE, ITALY, SPAIN AND YUGOSLAVIA, SHOWED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN MEDITERRANEAN SUBJECTS. MEDITERRANEAN DOCUMENT INCLUDES STANDARD REFERENCES TO LINKS BETWEEN MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY AND EUROPEAN SECURITY AS WELL AS IMPORTANCE OF CSCE STATES INCREASING CONTACTS AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH NON-PARTICIPATING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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MEDITERRANEAN STATES. ONE NEW ELEMENT WHICH SPANISH DEL SLIPPED THROUGH BASKET ONE COMMITTEE IS CALL ON PARLIAMENTS AND GOVERNMENTS TO PROMOTE "DEVELOPMENT AND INCREASE" NOT ONLY OF CONTACTS BUT ALSO "CONFERENES" WITH NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES. THIS MAY EVENTUALLY BE USED BY MALTESE AND OTHERS AS PRECEDENT FOR EFFORT TO DEVELOP REGIONAL POLITICAL CONFERENCE PROPOSAL WHICH FAILED AT BELGRADE. DOCUMENT ALSO CONTAINS LANGUAGE DEVELOPED IN BASKET TWO COMMITTEE DESCRIBING VALLETTA EXPERTS MEETING AGREED TO AT BELGRADE AS "COORDINATING AND ESTABLISHING ORGANIZED FORMS OF COOPERATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN," WHICH CLEARLY EXCEEDS STANDARD WESTERN VIEW THAT MEETING CAN ONLY PREPARE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENTS. COASTAL STATES SHOWED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN LANGUAGE THAT WOULD HAVE EMPHASIZED DESIRABILITY OF MEDITERRANEAN PARTICIPATING AND NON-PARTICIPATING STATES DEVELOPING THEIR OWN SPECIAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATIVE PROJECTS. BOTH U.S. AND SOVIET DELS EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT CSCE SHOULD NOT FISSURE INTO DISTINCT REGIONAL AREAS IN WHICH 35 PARTICIPATING STATES HAD UNEQUAL VOTES.

13. BASKET THREE: AUSTRIAN DRAFT HAD SURPRISINGLY EASY SAILING. MAIN CONTROVERSY WAS OVER PREAMBLE WHICH SOVIETS SOUGHT TO HAVE INCLUDE THEIR FAMILIAR IDEA THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF BASKET THREE OBLIGATIONS WOULD BE FACILITATED BY FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE. THEY EVENTUALLY ACCEPTED MORE WESTERN-ORIENTED LANGUAGE, HOWEVER, THAT IMPLEMENTATION IMPROVEMENTS, ALBEIT WITH FULL RESPECT FOR THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, WOULD "CONTRIBUTE TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING AMONG PEOPLES." PREAMBLE NOTES "WITH SATISFACTION THAT SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE" BUT SAYS "FURTHER EFFORTS ARE NEEDED" FOR FULL IMPLEMENTATION. DOCUMENT CALLS FOR RESOLUTION OF APPLICATIONS FOR VISITS, FAMILY REUNIFICATION, AND BINATIONAL MARRIAGE "IN A POSITIVE AND HUMANITARIAN

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SPIRIT AS EXPEDITIOUSLY AS POSSIBLE AND FOR APPLICANTS NOT TO BE DISADVANTAGED IN THEIR RIGHTS." IT ALSO URGES GRADUAL LOWERING OF FEES IN CONNECTION WITH APPLICATIONS AND TRAVEL DOCUMENTS AND FURTHER FACILITATION OF TRAVEL FOR PERSONAL OR PROFESSIONAL REASONS. INFORMATION SECTION URGES FURTHER IMPORTATION, SALE AND SUBSCRIPTION OF NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS AND MORE FAVORABLE WORK CONDITIONS FOR FOREIGN JOURNALISTS, INCLUDING ACCESS TO SOURCES. SOVIETS QUICKLY DROPPED THEIR PROPOSAL TO CONDEMN RADIO LIBERTY AND RADIO FREE EUROPE AFTER USDEL MADE DRAFTING COMMITTEE STATEMENT DEFENDING RADIOS' FUNCTIONS.

14. FOLLOW-UP: DOCUMENT INCLUDES CALLS FOR SUPPORT OF THREE EXPERTS MEETING SCHEDULED BY BELGRADE CONFERENCE AND STRESSES NEED "FOR ACTIVE PREPARATION OF THE FOLLOW-UP MEETING TO BE HELD IN MADRID IN 1980." IT IS WORDY BUT NOT VERY PRECISE ON QUESTION OF FURTHER CSCE FOLLOW-UP IN IPU. IT INCLUDES RECOMMENDATION THAT IPU HOLD ANOTHER FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE SIMILAR TO VIENNA MEETING BUT DELS WERE UNABLE TO AGREE ON DATE OR PLACE OR EVEN WHETHER MEETING SHOULD PRECEDE OR FOLLOW MADRID. THESE QUESTIONS
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WILL PRESUMABLY HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED AT SUBSEQUENT IPU

MEETING. DOCUMENT ALSO URGES IPU TO ORGANIZE SYMPOSIA ON ENVIRONMENT AND FURTHER UNSPECIFIED CSCE-RELATED SUBJECTS.

15. ON BALANCE, WE WOULD JUDGE THAT IPU MEETING PRODUCED A BETTER AND MORE BALANCED DOCUMENT THAN COULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED IN LIGHT OF BELGRADE EXPERIENCE. AS FIRST POST-BELGRADE CSCE ACTIVITY IT HAS ENCOURAGED A NUMBER OF EXPERIENCED WESTERN OBSERVERS TO BELIEVE THAT SOVIETS CONTINUE TO BE INTERESTED IN CSCE PROCESS ARE LOOKING FOR WAYS TO SHOW IT. RATHER LOW-KEY ATMOSPHERE OF IPU AND FACT THAT SMALL U.S. DEL BY NECESSITY PLAYED A LESSER ROLE IN VIENNA THAN IN BELGRADE MAY HAVE MADE IT EASIER FOR THEM TO ACCEPT THINGS THEY REJECTED TWO MONTHS AGO. SOVIETS ALSO NO DOUBT FOUND CONGENIAL FACT THAT THERE WAS ESSENTIALLY NO REVIEW OF ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION EXPERIENCE AND THUS ALMOST NO DIRECT CRITICISM OF THEM. AT SAME TIME, IT MAY HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTIVE TO THEM THAT EVEN AT CONFERENCE WHERE U.S. PLAYED MORE A SUPPORTIVE THAN A LEADING ROLE, A LARGE NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS EMPHASIZED THAT CONSIDER HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE HUMAN ASPECT OF CSCE TO BE AN INTEGRAL ELEMENT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. WOLF

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Channel Indicators: n/a
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Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
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Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
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Review Event:
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Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014